to pay the taxes in money for their tribesmen or clients, and in return demand a proportion, said to be often as high as 50%, of the crops. There is a constant struggle between the tax-assessor and the tax-payer, overestimation by the former and underestimation by the latter of the value in question. "If the rent of some land is 100 dinars," a landowner said, "the owner will tell the assessor it is only 50. No one pays taxes properly." It is for this reason that the investigation of economics by a disinterested observer is often difficult, for no one likes to reveal the true state of his finances, even to his most intimate friends.

There is in the area an excise and customs directorate which must supervise the collection of duties from the customs points at Jinjian, Rayat, and Hajji Umran on the Iranian frontier. The volume of trade between the district and Iran is not large, one of the most important imports being Iranian rice, and is probably but a fraction of its former magnitude. Thus the collection of customs duties, as well as the detection of smuggling (with the exception of arms and ammunition, a capital offence) cannot be said to constitute a great problem. The Tobacco Monopoly will be spoken of below, and locally the only excise problem seems to be the manufacture of bootleg arrack by the Nestorians, a violation which is most often winked at. A certain amount of charcoal is illegally produced in the district and smuggled south to Erbil and Kirkuk, but this is an

The principal crops of the Rawandiz area, in the order of their importance, are tobacco, wheat, rice, and millet. Tobacco and rice require a more complex regimen, the former cultivated by hand and steel matlock and the latter transplanted into small, flooded plots. Wheat fields are more easily prepared by a light wooden plough drawn by oxen, and the grain is harvested with short, curved sickles of steel. Threshing consists in driving oxen around and around over the harvested sheaves, spread on a selected floor, until they are broken up, and separating grain and chaff in the wind with wooden forks. Because tobacco has a greater market value, it comes to be planted in increasing quantity, and wheat production has suffered correspondingly. Today both wheat and rice must be imported into the area, and millet is only a marginal crop. Every village devotes a certain amount of land and orchard to the production of vegetables and fruits, almost always irrigated. The former include beans, cucumbers, eggplants, garlic, lentils, onions, tomatoes, and vegetable marrow, and the latter, apples, apricots, cherries, grapes, melons, pears, plums, and pomegranates. Almonds, gall nuts, and walnuts are important for retail, and are exported from the district. A red wine and arrack (a clear distillate of fermented grapes, flavored with gum arabic or anise) are fabricated by the Nestorians and, insofar as they are not consumed at home, are illegally sold about the district. Apiculture is a specialty of certain villages, and the beehives are transported among favored locations in mountain

and distaff for spinning thread, and a number of metal 285
kettles for dyeing the finished cloth a single brown or 286
blue. In the villages women do a certain amount of 287
embroidery, for example, two flowered designs on a loosely- 286
woven piece of cloth which can be cut out and stitched 284
together to form a woman's cap, and of knitting, such as
stockings in crudely dyed black and white yarn. Small, buff 283
pottery jugs are fashioned without the wheel and decked with
designs in a red slip. There is a great deal of woodcarving, 282
such as ladles, combs, bowls, cigarette-holders, and
walking-sticks, some of which find their way out of the [189]
area to Erbil and even Baghdad. Save for a few pieces of 439
carving, however, almost none of these products ever
reach a larger market than that of Rowanduz and bring only
the smallest prices throughout the district. Women offer
them for sale to the merchants in the hope of realizing a
few coppers with which to buy trinkets, and some of these
transactions, compared with agricultural or dairy produce,
are great importance, either for merchant or for villager.

The collection of faggots and production of charcoal 272
for winter fuel are important services performed by the 349
villagers for the larger towns of the district. In the 272
summer, blocks of mountain snow are in great demand in the
town of Rowanduz, particularly for chilling drinks such
as sherbet or mastaw (a mixture of curdled milk, mast, and
water, qv, drunk from a wooden bowl by means of a number-
some wooden ladle), as well as large quantities of oak and [191]
willow branches which are constructed into summer arbors 98
417

Aside from this

work in building and repair, the only significant production of the carpenters is the small chest used by housewives for their goods. Almost every married woman has a collection of "treasures," clothing, jewelry, glassware, and the like, which dates from her wedding (it is, in fact, a part of her dowry, and a significant economic commodity, as it may include a sizeable sum in gold), and which is displayed on festive occasions. These goods are stored in wooden chests, sometimes covered with sheets of tin, and always brightly painted. Two shops in Rwanda maintained by carpenters display a large number of these, and there is always a demand for them in the event of a wedding. The carpenter's tools and equipment, gimlets, hammers, planes, chisels, nails, and so on, are almost all imported from Europe or elsewhere in the Middle East. Wooden bier, and occasionally coffins, for the dead are also made by the carpenters. Smaller items of wood, such as cradles, are fashioned in the households of villagers.

335 322 322 422 95 [371] 412 [419] 322 [369] [394]

The main work of the farriers and blacksmiths is the shoeing of horses, mules, and donkeys. The government veterinarian attends to the beasts of the civil service and army, but, although his services are available to the townspeople, most prefer the farriers who, in addition to their craft, are thought to be experts in curing animal diseases. The workshops of both farriers and blacksmiths, with their distinctive anvils and charcoal fires, are within the bazaar, and the shoeing of a donkey

326 281 [282]

Rowanduz or Erbil is a proud sight along the road, and the arrival an event of great joy in his household.

The shops of the cobblers are also to be found in the bazar, and, like the carpenters and tinsmiths, they live more by maintenance than by manufacture. A variety of footgear is worn in the area, including European boots, shoes, and women's sandals, and several local types of slippers. Some village men wear a simple moccasin of rawhide laced across the top of the foot with thongs, but the cobblers of Rowanduz have no hand in these, just as none would attempt the manufacture of a European shoe. One type made in the town, extremely popular with men of the lower classes, is a slipper with rubber soles (cut from an old automobile tire) and uppers of woven cord which have some elasticity. Otherwise, only some simple leather slippers and wooden clogs (kalosky) are produced for women. One shop is filled with European shoes of all styles, brought in from Baghdad or abroad, and almost all persons of the upper classes, government personnel and local population, affect these for outdoor wear. Most of the cobbler's work is thus in repair, particularly on Fridays, for the soldiers from the barracks bring boots which, stout as they are, suffer considerably from the rocky terrain. The two town cobblers are middle-aged men who wander among the shops and storefronts with their wooden polish-boxes, looking for customers and passing on gossip with considerable banter.

An important trade is that of the cloth-sellers or

hens of whom there are a relatively large number in the 443
town. Cloth is daily in great demand among both town-
people and villagers, for very little manufactured clothing
is available or popular. The local weaving of coarse [294]
woolen cloth has already been noticed, but the product is [282]
used in the fabrication of men's jackets and trousers, and
neither its amount nor its quality would satisfy the de-
mands and taste of the district. The cloth-seller's shop 443
is characteristically a small booth with numerous rolls of 439
brightly coloured cotton and darker shaded woolen fabrics 286
piled against its walls. Much of this cloth is European
in origin, largely from the mills of Great Britain, India
and Japan, and is brought from Erbil. The purchase can
either be taken home, as is the case for most cloth des-
tined for women's garments, or carried to the tailor.

The tailors occupy small shops and their equipment 284
consists in a pedal-driven sewing machine, a flat-iron, a
tape measure, a pair of scissors, and little else. Al-
most all European-style clothing, such as that worn by [391]
government employees, is purchased in one of the larger
cities, Erbil, Mosul, or Baghdad. The tailor's work is
almost exclusively in men's garments in the Kurdish style,
jackets, trousers, and shirts, and a few other items in
linen or cotton, such as pajamas. The customer, having 284
purchased the material of his choice from the bazar, re- 437
pairs to a tailor with whom a contract is arranged, as
well as the amount of time necessary for completion. This

on their investments. There are, of course, trips in which a handsome bounty can be acquired, and others when the *sing* is happy to break even. The origins of this class are somewhat varied, for some may be drawn directly from the villages, others are failures in another calling, and still others only follow the steps of their fathers. Similarly, the personnel changes over the years, because a few are fortunate enough to open permanent shops of their own, the fondest dream of the class, many return to their villages, and many take up another vocation.

Unlike the *sing*, the general merchants maintain permanent establishments in Rowandúz and are possessed of a certain amount of capital, in money, land, or merchandise. Their wares may be obtained from the wholesale merchants or brought in directly from Erbil. Their shops are typically packed from top to bottom with an incredible variety of manufactured goods, most of them imported from [433] Europe. A number of these, listed from a single shop, include:

amulets	needles
buttons	notebooks
buttons	orange syrup
candy	pegaz
chocolate	patent medicines
cigarettes	pencils
cigarette-papers	pins
cocoa	pocket knives
coffee cups	razorblades
fountain pens	razors
gasoline stoves	salt
glasses	shirts
handkerchiefs	shoe-polish
jewelry	soap
lighters	stationery
matches	stockings
matches	sugar

or religious. In Ottoman times, while it was an administrative center under Turkish rule, Rowandus had considerable importance because it lay astride the trade route between Iran and Erbil, and from Erbil the Jezire plain and Syria, and a great volume of caravan trade passed through its gates. Today the automobile road constructed by British engineers bypasses the town and commerce following the old direction need here no reference to the town itself. With an obvious political background, the British mandate in Iraq and the withdrawal of Bolshevik Russia from Middle Eastern affairs, much of this pass trade has dwindled. Prior to the first World War, a great part of the manufactured goods, like those of the general merchant listed above and merchandised in Iranian Azerbaijan and northern Iraq, came from Russia, porcelain, glassware, metalware, cloth, samovars, kerosene, and the like, some of the more precious items still preserved in Rowandus households as family heirlooms. With the British domination of the empire of Iraq, the focus of trade for this area has shifted almost completely from the north to the south. One never sees an item manufactured in the Soviet Union in the bazar of Rowandus. It may be supposed that the Turks selected Rowandus as a seat of government because of this importance in trade, and the administrative demotion of the town under Erbil, where formerly the two were equals, can be taken as a reflection of commercial decline.

It has been seen that the only important produce of

a closet or booth, usually on the first floor of the house, with a door, as in the case of the bath, of wooden planks or a cloth hanging. This booth contains little more than a slit trench, perpendicular to the entrance, leading down into the foundations of the house and ultimately outside, and a metal ewer, a long-necked vessel with a capacity of about a pint, containing water. The left hand is used for cleansing, and, while never so stringently observed as among certain Arab groups, it is considered impolite to use it in formal dining, even in tearing apart food, although everyday practice admits considerable latitude.

Interior lighting is furnished by fuel lamps. Before the first World War, a kerosene lantern, described as "Hungarian," was in use, imported together with its fuel from Russia through Iran. Since that time, a new and brighter type of lamp, making use of gasoline put under pressure by an attached pneumatic pumping device, has come into use in the wealthier homes. In a number of the poorer houses a small, simple oil lamp, which provides only a feeble glow, is utilized as an economical night light. Even during Ramadan, when one or two meals are taken during the evening, most of the houses are completely darkened soon after nightfall. Heating during winter does not receive systematic attention, although the wealthy make use of kerosene stoves. The general remedy is to don additional clothing. The larger houses have a courtyard,

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used in the town. Cooking, particularly of grilled meats, can produce a great quantity of smoke, and even in the houses of the wealthy certain recipes are prepared in the yard. The kitchen itself is typically a bare room containing as permanent fixtures the large, beehive oven and a fire-pit or hearth beside it. As will be appreciated from the description of the diet, the type of fire employed, of which there are several, depends upon the dish. The oven is used for baking, the fire-pit for heating larger vessels, the charcoal brazier for broiling, and the brass kerosene burner, one of the most widespread intrusions into Kurdish life in recent decades, for a large number of smaller tasks. These last, manufactured in Sweden or Germany and purchased from the merchants, are distinctive stoves, the legs of which support the fuel tank, bending above it over the burner to form a platform, and use kerosene under mechanically induced pressure, as in the gasoline lamps. Boiling water, warming food, preparing tea or coffee, and a dozen other lesser jobs are accomplished with these devices, and even the poorer townspeople boast of their possession. There is a heterogeneous collection of metal cooking utensils, ranging from the wide, flat-bottomed tub in which dough is kneaded to the tools and cups. Dishes in the walls are used for their storage, as well as the dishes in everyday use, those set too prized to be counted among the treasures of the wife or displayed in the guest-room. Imperishable food, flour, sugar, tea, and the like, is kept in containers in the kitchen or a

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[491]

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of the bowl, two or three. One product of the area is a long wooden cigarette holder, cut from the thin branch of a cherry tree and laboriously drilled, but it has little more than curiosity value for the local people. European cigarette lighters are in great demand, and together with the dagger and the rosary form an important part in every adult male's ensemble. There are several varieties of these, and are Austrian in derivation. Several craftsmen in the town use flint and steel to light their pipes, but this is relatively rare, a survival among the poor and thrifty. Both men and women smoke, the latter as much as their husbands, and there is no restriction on youngsters. Children usually avoid tobacco as a matter of physical distaste, not because of any prohibition laid upon them. During the fasting hours of Ramadan it is considered impolite, if not impious, to smoke on the streets, although tobacco, of course, has no mention in the Quran.

Almost all of the houses are infested with mice, but, insofar as their harmful are not too intensive, they are not regarded as a particular nuisance. Rooms of the lower classes, as well as the khan or hotel, are infested with vermin of various types, of which the chief scourge is the flea. Both flies and mosquitos are troublesome in the summer months, and some effort is expended to keep them from infants, but the greater number of adults pay little attention to them. Dysentery and malaria sometimes turn up, and are dealt with the greatest possible dispatch.

the first World War, but they have been more in the substitution of the materials used and in the addition of new items rather than anything radical. Most of these are European, such as kerosene stoves and shoes, and have either displaced older manufactures, some of which survive, or have been readily accepted as new devices. The Kuré is no innovator, but welcomes new things of a material sort, particularly if they appeal to him as ingenious, as the cigarette-lighter, and are integrated without difficulty into his daily life. It cannot be maintained that the increase of European imports has destroyed the self-sufficiency of the household or of the district, although it has certainly furthered the deterioration of native crafts, for this area has utilized trade from other locales for centuries. In general, it might be said that the last fifty years have seen the introduction of many new means to the same ends. An imported kerosene stove and cooking utensils are now used to prepare food, but the diet and the etiquette of dining have changed little. The sewing machine and fabrics from the mills of Great Britain now provide clothing, but the costume, save for European shoes, is much the same. A drastic reorientation has not been necessitated by the introduction of these new appurtenances, and household life in Rowandus can be said to have evolved, and to still be evolving, into something which daily makes increased use of the devices and products of European civilization with great stability.

be blamed for it, and there is no witch-hunting on its account. The damage is done in the single glance, and there is no known technique for averting the inevitable catastrophe once it has been initiated. 754 761

On the other hand, preventive charms are great in number. First among them are those derived from the Quran, slips of paper on which certain passages have been written or copies of the work itself. The scrolls can be obtained in metal cases which are worn about the throat, sometimes as a part of the jewelry, but are more commonly stitched in cloth pockets hung on a string around the neck or pinned to the shoulder. Metal disks inscribed with the names of God are also in use, as well as expensive types of pendants which exhibit complete paragraphs from the Quran. Two popular items made up into charms are imported from Iran, irregularly shaped bits of turquoise or blue porcelain and small white sea-shells. These are pierced and either strung on a thread or kept in a cloth bag. One charm is to sew two green beads in a piece of cloth, another is a piece of pumice wrapped in a cloth, and a third, called [illegible], consists of two pieces of the yellow bark of a certain tree hung on a string with a yellow bead between them. A piece of cloth from the grave of a holy man may be incorporated in some pockets. An interesting symbol, a shell whose four apexes are filled with geometric designs, is painted on the walls of houses or embroidered on cloth and sewn on the garments of children. 751 777 [531]

to the state, private persons, and the Islamic faith, and the regular collection of taxes. If the land is unregistered, it prefers to obtain the revenue directly from the users, and, if privately owned, from its legal holders. The Arab government of Iraq cannot be said to be a model of efficiency, but it has quantitatively superimposed an administration far different from that of the Turks or the chieftains.

If the changes of the last fifty years which have taken place in English life are reviewed, it cannot be said that any one aspect has been static, but in one the alteration has been far greater than in others. Aside from the society, the areas of dissent are few in number. Items of Western technology have been easily assimilated, and it is not possible to allege that any self-sufficiency has been destroyed by the introduction of manufactured goods, for this dependence on foreign products has apparently been known for centuries. The specialization in tobacco in the district has, of course, conditioned vulnerability, but it has been profitable rather than detrimental, and, in any case, the agricultural production of the area, even at a primitive level, is only a part of its potential. In the house and its furnishings, the costume, the diet, life within the family, and religion almost nothing of a structural nature has been altered or replaced. The issue of modification, then, has been in the economy and the society, for, not only has a new class, the government elite, been added to compete for prestige with the native aristocracy,

Fig. 21. Wooden kettle-holding or coal-tongue.
Fig. 22. Rattan-seated wood lamps. Plain walls, no furniture. Tuppence.

The most important "piece of furniture" for sitting, eating, working and sleeping purposes was the floor, covered by a granite or basalt screen—according to the time of the year—by felt mats, (khaliff), and when we call ourselves—that is to say brothers—rugs, (kiri, (S. 2277)* imported from Iran or from some of Kurdistan other than those I visited. Neither felt mats nor knitted rugs were ever washed, as by Europeans, for all dust there shows or slippers before walking on the floor spares their covering. Life was lived on the floor; there was worked, ate and slept. There was no fixed rule as to which room or part of the house was to act as dining room or bedroom. The spot where the meal was, neglect or did—was for several persons, who continually changed their grouping—was placed on the floor was the dining room for the short space of time it took to consume the meal. It might be one of the three living rooms, the courtyard, or, on warm evenings, up on the clay roof. When tables were used they were moved to the place where the meal was to be and afterwards taken back to their usual positions. The chairs belonging to them led the same wandering existence. Even the big tables were moved into the nearby residence of the harvest to the lowest house of the day or into the courtyard in the evening. As a rule, however, they stood unceremoniously along the walls of the room, just like seats in a railway carriage. When visits were paid the guests were placed in them and handed a fine chopped tea, (ghirbile, 0.227 i. (S. 231)). If there was no large meal in the guests' wing for male guests, the two big tables there were used for eating beforehand as.

The two cupboards and the last home-made chest of drawers seemed to be quite rare elements in the furnishing scheme. They were for the clothes of the men in the house, and were stored in the most masculy of the house's living rooms. They stood as though in an attic or an unfurnished room, the way they were placed showing that there was no sense for interiors or any other than functions can be.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

The cloak is purchased ready-made in the city. At home the women sew in a belt along the transverse seam. This belt is sometimes knitted and is then, like a shoulder at the side. This adjusts the garment to her height and style is trailing at the sides. The cloak is lifted over the head, outside the veil, and pinched round the body, the women's hands from inside grasping the front edges. The garment covers the women's body from knee to feet, completely hiding the dress below it. 291

Cotton gloves (Kuwait cotton). Long nightgowns with pulled sleeves and sometimes an appurtenant jacket both of rose silk, to wear at home alone, to serve at home or bought ready-made. Evening dresses and summer dresses, knee-high of a style illustrated in fashion journals during the summer of 1927. Either purchased ready-made or made at home to the form of complete dressing or blouse and skirt. Wedding dress of white satin, long with long sleeves, embroidered with spangles. Bought ready-made in Baghdad. 291 [291]

Distribution of the elements of women's dress. Within the four female environments dress effects were composed of elements of all three groups, the specially Kurdish, the Islamic, and the dress from from the West. These dress schemes varied additionally to the case of unmarried and married women.

Village environment. The dress consists of the following Kurdish elements: trousers, cloth or 349
gabardine, green or black, underskirt, jacket, cotton and head veil, the last always white for an un- 325
married woman, and, for married women, also cloth cap, cloth veil, shoulder cloth, cotton cloth and 291
flower cloth worn under the head veil. At home the married woman often dispenses with the last mentioned articles of dress. The materials are cotton, brocade, chiffon, voile and artificial silk. In addition, exceptionally, crepe silk voile for the Girls' trousers, voile veiled thread, and crushed nylon from Japan. All imported goods come from Europe, particularly France, from Syria and from [439]
Japan.

It is typical of the dress scheme that more or less clothes are worn to suit the temperature, but that 291
there is no set customs that varies according to the occasion. A woman of the village aristocracy in the district's home in Tagawra rolled out dough and baked in sunlight-green brocade trousers, satin gardenant of the same colour, and black voile tunic with patches of gold thread. She walked the grain dust to excellently magnificent materials. The best clothes were the newest and best worn. As mentioned earlier (p. 37) women do not endeavor to go to bed, but sleep with all their clothes on, their heads [513]
wrapped in a cloth. The only articles of clothing men worry in bed are the turbans, the neck-shoulder cloth and bare cloth, that is to say the parts of dress connected with the turban. Coats, cloth and trousers could be washed and sometimes were, but the appearance of the dress does not make it im- [296]
perative that it should be newly-washed or ironed. Cleanliness in regard to dress was unknown. [291]
The most return to European periods like the Baroque and Rococo to find a similar dress effect based on magnificent material, which retained its splendour despite age, and the fact that an attempt was made to show it, which later would be considered essential in modern Europe. The long, wide trousers always were under the tunic, the skirt also. Only the pointed outer pieces of clothing were put on or taken off in public or married realities.

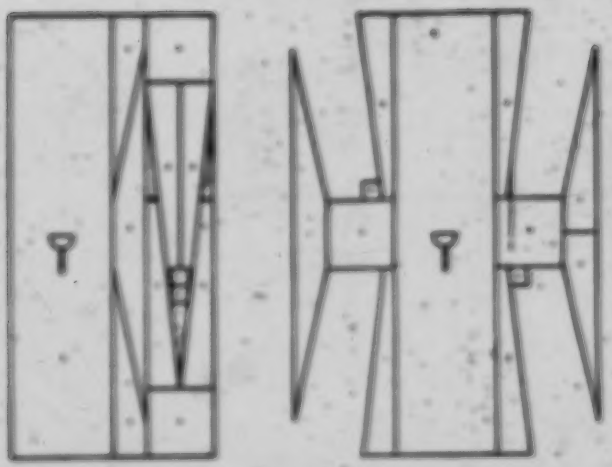

Fig. 45. Diagrammatic plan of how a certain length of material is cut out to form the different parts of a woman's tunic. Scale 1:36

a. the body, b. the two sleeves, c. the two flared shaped cuffs (one of these were cut from the waist piece), d. the two side gores, e. the two rectangular gores in the armpits. (Cf. fig. 11).

The *production of feminine garments*. The materials for all women's dresses are machine-made and imported[1] from abroad for sale in the city of the larger towns. (Samples of brocade, E. 2352a-c). The finished garments like jackets and caftans are made by home tailors with Singer sewing machines that are found in both town and village[2]. Certain main measurements are taken of the customer, height and shoulder breadth. This is done with a measuring rod, *gab*, (E. 2272). This is a round stick, 0.220 m. long, divided into English inches by circular washers, and consists of two sections, turned together by a screw, that can be inserted into each other. I did not witness the cutting-out of a caftan or a jacket.

Sleeveless jackets, trousers, under-birds and birds are made by hand or on a sewing machine by women or boys. Except in the case of sleeveless jackets, nothing is wasted when cutting out these garments. All the parts of which the garments consist are limited by straight lines and suffer most economically the available material (see diagram). Material is purchased to definite measurements, well-known to the home tailors. When cutting-out the birds the person's height is measured with the material. The smaller measurements are marked on the material by taking the distance between the thumb and little finger several times and the distance from the nose to the finger tips with an outstretched arm (2 yards, *Faðmur*)[3] unlike of the Lors measuring by means of the hand, just as Danes or we now mark the end joint of the thumb and the length of the fore.

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

The Nomads. In addition to the permanent settled inhabitants of the three areas here discussed there are certain nomadic groups who move seasonally from one area to another and even out of the district altogether. These nomads are again in many respects a distinct cultural group; their economy is based exclusively on pastoralism as opposed to the pastoral-agriculturalism of the settled peoples. The largest of the nomad tribes are the Herki. They are normally resident in Persia near the southernmost end of Lake Urmia. These high altitudes cannot provide sufficient fodder for their herds throughout the year and during the late autumn the bulk of the tribe migrates down the Rowanduz river and spreads out through the foothills (Area B) and the northern fringe of the plains. They return to Persia with the melting of the snows in the late spring. I have no first hand evidence concerning these people and the second hand evidence appears to be both fabulous and contradictory. There is reason to think that their tribal organization at the present time functions more perfectly than that of the settled groups, presumably owing to less government interference. They possess definite grazing rights in certain areas, even in districts nominally under the control of settled groups* though in other areas they pay some sort of rental for the right to herd their flocks. Their migration is linked with important trade activities. They bring salt with them from Persia to Iraq, and take back wheat and barley. Wool is disposed of on the Erbil market as well as large numbers of their livestock. The duty-free import of salt is of course strictly illegal but is winked at by the authorities. It was reported in the summer of 1938 that the Persian authorities intended to compel the Herki to adopt a settled habitat. It is thus unlikely that it will ever be possible to determine the precise position of this group in the political and economic organisation of the Kurdish area as a whole.

In my field work I stayed nearly all the time in villages occupied by members of the Surau and Balik tribes (see Map 2).

*The Iraq government authorities are able to carry on all negotiations with the Herki through the agency of a single paramount Agha, this despite the fact that the tribe itself scatters into small family groups throughout a very wide area; this seems to imply a high degree of tribal integration. During the summer of 1938 a law case was proceeding between the Agha paramount of the Herki and Jemil Agha of Bahrtim (Gerdi tribe) as to whether the former need pay any rent to the latter for the grazing rights of what appeared to be Gerdi land. Jemil Agha complained to me bitterly that the Herki seemed likely to win their case owing to their greater wealth and resources for corruption. The case however establishes the point that they might claim traditional grazing rights in land seemingly within the sphere of influence of permanently settled groups.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MAII Kurd MAII
Rowanduz

107 Accordingly the description which follows applies primarily to Area A of the foregoing description. Prior to the opening of the road it might indeed have been possible to treat this district as a single culture area, virtually self contained. Under present conditions however economic factors and the external political authority link the three regions, A, B and C, closely together. I will attempt to make clear as I proceed the degree to which generalisations derived primarily from a study of the Balik and Dergala tribes can be regarded as generally applicable to the whole region. I will conclude this section with a rather more detailed description of the groups inhabiting Area A. Map 2.

101 622 The Suran group whose full tribal name is Surani Bagarzela (i.e. "descendants of the Bags of Surar") are few in number. The group is a single unit (taifa), the paramount of which is the Agha of Dergala - Mir Hamid Amin Beg.

The Balik tribe is a very much larger group and is subdivided into three clans, usually named Mallasherifi, Shevkini and Bakri, of which Mallasherifi is much the largest. The Shevkini group centred around Bayat has a considerable degree of cohesion and accepts the Agha of Bayat - Ali Agha - as paramount. The Mallasherifi on the other hand though nominally owing allegiance to the Agha of Valash - Sheikh Mohammed Agha - appear in practice to be split into three groups centred on Valash, Ehot and Celala. The Bakri are a small group about which I know nothing. Sheikh Mohammed Agha by virtue of his position as head of the largest clan is considered by the government to be Agha paramount of all the Baliki at the present time however his authority is nominal outside the immediate sphere of influence of his own village of Valash.

794 162 • 439 The two villages of Khalan and Shiru i Sheikh require special mention. (See Hay pp. 295 and 297 where Khalan is called Dar ul Aman). The heads of these two villages,*Sheikh Alauddin and Sheikh Ubaidullah, are leaders of the mystic sect known as Nakhshbandi, which has its basis in Bukhara. The villages are really hospices belonging to this order. Apart from the adherents of the religious community the population is very mixed, traders predominating. The marked prosperity of the community is not hard to understand. At least two large armed convoys of smugglers passed over the border even during the course of my three day visit. They even offered to take me with them, but discretion unfortunately prevented my acceptance.

604 * These two individuals described as 'cousins' by Hay are really nephew and uncle respectively although nearly the same age. It is the nephew, Alauddin, who has the greater reputation and influence.

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any single village community.

462 The basis of the ordinary Kurdish menu is unleavened bread, bread in this style (nan), and a meal with product of the yoghourt type (mast); in addition by a rather elaborate process of boiling the whole wheat grain and then crushing it, a sort of inferior boiled rice (sawk) is produced, which is eaten just as ordinary pilaf would be with stewed vegetables or mutton. The fundamentals of the food supply are thus wheat and grain.

253 311 [244] And in fact by far the greater proportion of arable land is devoted to wheat cultivation. Such land is normally sorted on an alternate system - one year crop, one year fallow and this rotation is apparently sufficient to maintain the soil in fertility. The supplementary acreage devoted to vegetables such as maroows, tomatoes, gherkins, betatel, lentils, etc. is very approximately one sixth of the wheat land. For the most part the vegetable acreage requires irrigation.

Though wheat has the largest acreage, rice would everywhere be the preferred crop if it could be extensively cultivated. The rice yield in volume is roughly thirty times greater than that of wheat for equal areas of cultivation, and the Kurd is well aware of the advantages to be gained by increasing his rice acreage at the expense of the wheat. He would willingly substitute cooked rice (p'lau) for the nan if it could be managed. I discussed this matter in some detail with Sheikh Mohammed of Balash and it was clear that he was firmly under the impression that the acreage devoted to rice in Balash was the maximum the irrigation system would stand, and this was probably the case, though the irrigation was in fact very unintelligently arranged.

A third cereal grows only in small quantities is millet.

As things are at present, the cereal production is barely adequate for the needs of the local community and there can certainly be no exports. In fact most of the Aghas purchase additional supplies of rice from outside so as to be able always to serve p'lau to their guests instead of nan.

• 437 433 In former times this bare self sufficiency in primary products set no great strain on the economics of the community. Few commodities had to be imported; clothing was almost entirely locally produced, and trade requirements were limited to a small range of metal goods and certain luxuries such as tea and sugar. But as has

• In the villages around Dergala there is an exceptional acreage devoted to the cultivation of nash, which appears to be a kind of lentils, but the proportion of wheat land is here correspondingly reduced. In this area presumably most of the nash crop is traded.

was pointed out in a previous section the events of the last thirty years have served to create a steadily increasing demand for a range of imports which, if they might previously have been classed as luxuries, are now regarded by the Kachin themselves as essential commodities. Whatever the immediate nature of the cash or credit transactions by which such goods are purchased, they must ultimately be paid for by the 'exports' of the community as a whole, and the problem arises as to how this can be done in a community which, as the case of Ch., can only produce a very self-sufficiency of primary products. The following table shows approximately the categories of goods that go to make up the "balance of trade" for the tribes of the Bhamo area.

Imports

Piece goods; Rice for Ashan (Yaung) women - mainly from Burma1, Sugar, Tea, Cattle, Buffaloes, Metalware, Clothing, Tobaccos, Opium.
Of these the most important are rice, sugar, tea and clothing.

Exports

Tobacco, Lacquer, Walnuts, Cattle, Ponys.
Fruits- Apricots, Apples, Pears, Grapes, Bananas, Almonds.
Rice and Vegetables.
Of these by far the most important is tobacco.

In addition there are certain cash transactions that must be taken into account which are independent of the process of trade. On the debit side certain sales- taxes and legal dues have to be paid in cash to the Government, and there is an excise duty on tobacco. This latter is nominally due only on tobacco actually traded but in practice it appears to be charged on the private supplies of the cultivator also. The Ashe again incurs certain cash expenditure in educating his children. He also incurs very substantial expenditure in 'purchasing' his own wives and those of his sons, but since the majority of such marriages take place within the group these exchanges do not necessarily affect the economy of the community as a whole. On the credit side one must allow for the fact that a small number of tribespeople are earning wages either in Bawdwin or down on the plain, and that such people may send home part of their earnings in cash.

In general however it is fairly true to say that all the goods imported by the groups of the Bhamo area must ultimately be paid for by the proceeds of surplus fruit and tobacco. Large scale fruit production is limited to the villages around Hsat, and I will therefore consider only the problem as it affects tobacco production, this crop having a much more general relevance.

Lindstrom G-3 (no date) 1940 M60.11 Hard M60.11
Iraq

177 of the modern East, he displays a lack of enthusiasm which his more 'progressive' neighbours cannot understand, and he is classed as lazy and wooden-headed. On the other hand, if allowed to develop quietly in his own way, he readily adapts himself to the new world springing up around him.

• 939 177 With the coming of the covenants, motor roads, and organized forces to keep the peace in the country, trade has begun to improve in Kurdistan. When it no longer pays to raid, the Kurds take to trade—being traders by nature like the Jews. Foreign 'luxuries', such as the new coloured cloths, tea, and sugar, have quickly become necessities even in the remotest districts, and to obtain the wherewithal to purchase them the Kurd is compelled to cultivate for sale as well as for food.

939 661 Now that caravans can come to the towns without hindrance from those through whose territory they pass, instead

[text continues on p 58A]

of having a large proportion of their merchandise removed forcibly (as was the case in Turkish times) by the garrisons of soldiers, gendarmes, police and corrupt officials, the tribesman returns safely to his village with the indispensable tea and sugar bought in exchange for his loads of tobacco or firewood cut from the hillside.

Great changes have been brought about in economic conditions by the improvement of communications and security, but the development of the country has barely started. If and when money and brains are available one can imagine Kurdistan being turned into a tourists' paradise for mountain climbing, game shooting,

wheat sports, a summer haven from the heat of the plains, and other things on which people spend their annual savings.

Tobacco is the only important export of Kurdistan. It has not been scientifically cultivated to such an extent that it can compete with sources outside Iraq. The government experimental farm near Sulaimaniya is, however, carrying out valuable research work in the improvement of Kurdish agriculture, especially the production of tobacco. At present Kurdish tobacco is bought, from the villagers who grow it, by 'dings' of merchants in the towns, and sent to factories in Baghdad to be made up into cigarettes. Owing to the low price at which they are offered Iraqi cigarettes find a ready sale throughout Iraq. But unfortunately little of the profits reach the grower.

Another potential source of revenue in Kurdistan is the fruit-growing industry, which so far has been quite neglected except for local consumption. When one leaves the lowlands and the motor roads, and rides on horseback along the narrow mountain tracks which the lowlander never uses, one is delighted with grape-vines green the eye, and in the valleys the water of gushing springs from under the shade of leafy mulberry and walnut trees. Apples, pears, pomegranates, figs and other fruits are abundant with no scientific cultivation, and much of them is wasted.

When Sulaimaniya possesses canneries, and up-to-date machinery for producing wine installed in Sulaimaniya, an industry might be started which would one day rival that of France or the Rhine. I have sometimes spoken with rich Kurdish aghas in their highland villages, whose wealth was only evident in their voluminous waistbands and large guest-houses with numbers of armed retainers waiting to do their bidding. When asked why they do not develop their resources, a lack of imagination becomes apparent—"Our fathers grew tobacco, and we are manag-

A. Force. The terrain was exceedingly mountainous and thickly wooded and there were many caves in which to shelter from bombs or machine-gunning from the air. The Shaikh's followers, too, were very hardy and mobile. Without very efficient air action, which aimed at destroying the morale of the Kurds by perpetually harassing them rather than by slaying them, to gain a definite result would have been a very costly affair. As it was the Shaikh and his followers were eventually driven into Turkey and after surrendering to the Turkish authorities were handed over to the 'Iraq Government. It was found that the Shaikh, his brothers and the remnants of the standing army could not fit in with any regular administration, and so they have been settled in small bodies in southern Kurdistan, near Sulimani, where they will not be in a position to cause further trouble. The Barzanis have now reverted to the Islamic faith.

Roads

What has really tamed the Kurds is the Government policy of making roads through the mountains, just as General Wade did in Scotland with similar results. Good roads now exist from Arbil, where Alexander the Great defeated King Darius III. in 331 B.C., to the Persian frontier at Rowanduz and from Dohuq to Amadia. Both these roads represent considerable engineering feats and carry a good volume of traffic. The Rowanduz road was that which a nomadic Kurdish tribe, the Herki, with their thirty animals, used on their annual migrations from 'Iraq to their summer grazing grounds in Iran. During recent years difficulties arose between the nomads and the 'Iraqi Government, and the former now remain in 'Iraq for the summer. It has not been easy to find grazing for them there, as other nomadic tribes had already been forbidden by the Turkish Government to graze in Turkey and had occupied practically all the open grazing. The 'Iraq Government, too, has been struggling to populate summer resorts in Kurdistan and so prevent the flow of money to Syria and the Lebanon, where good summer resorts exist. I am afraid, however, that so far this policy has not been very successful. Good summer resorts require the expenditure of much money, and the attempts at providing suitable summer accommodation have, I regret, tended to spoil what was originally beautiful scenery.

The little town of Zakho in western Kurdistan has greatly benefited by the improvement in public security and communications and is

now a flourishing market for the surrounding country and for trade with Turkey. It has one feature of great interest: an ancient bridge of Roman design, known locally as "Alexander's bridge," though unlikely to be in any way connected with the great conqueror. Tradition at Zakho has, however, another tale of the construction of the bridge. It is said to have been built by a celebrated local governor, who found that the keystone would not remain in place. He summoned a soothsayer, who proclaimed that it would never stand until a life had been built into the arch. The governor accepted the verdict and with his councillors, who were aware to anyway, decided that the first living thing to follow them on to the bridge the next morning would provide the necessary victim. They waited for some hours, but no one came. Then the governor's little daughter wondered why her father was so long away and taking her pet dog she set off to look for him. Her father was at first terrified when he saw her coming, but was relieved when he noticed that her dog was running in front of her. Alas, she thought it unfitting for the dog to approach her father before she did and so she called it and stepped on to the bridge. Public opinion compelled the governor to carry out the sacrifice and the girl was built into the centre of the arch and the keystone held and has gone on holding for hundreds of years.

The development of Kurdistan has naturally not been popular with all the Kurds, and I remember an interesting incident. During the construction of the Amadia road, an elderly Agha stood for a while sadly watching the blasting of a pulpit of overhanging rock. When echoes of the explosion had died and the last fragments of stone had fallen into the rocky gorge below, he turned sorrowfully away. "The old days, the old days," he lamented. "Many is the time I lay behind that rock with my rifle and held up caravans for safe-conduct money."

The town of Amadia, which, like Edinburgh Castle, is situated on a rocky plateau at a height of 4,200 feet, stands 600 feet higher than Cairo Gorm, is now easily accessible by road. The town was formerly ruled by semi-independent Pashas who admitted a nominal suzerainty to the Turkish authorities. It has a stormy history, and the minaret of the mosque is pitted with bullet holes. These are souvenirs of 1915, when the Bersan Kurds, in alliance with some of the descendants of the old rulers of Amadia, attacked the town and succeeded in surrounding the Mosuli quinquam and a handful of police in the Government serai. The semi-barred garrison held out until they were rescued by a body of Assyrians under the Assyrian bishop, Mar [illegible], a great friend [illegible] of the Nestorian church.